FELLOWSHIP

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The Good Chap

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The Christian Faith, the Church, and War

By NELS F. S. FERRE

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

I KNEW ROMAIN ROLLAND* well—but never saw him! A strange fatality seemed to hang over our projected meetings. In 1922 I was in Geneva, and had all plans made for a steamboat trip down the lake to Montreux, and then on by trolley to Rolland's home at Villeneuve, but at the last moment came an accident which prevented my making the pilgrimage. In 1931 I was in Montreux, and on a certain sunny afternoon journeyed to Villeneuve, only to discover that Rolland had been taken suddenly ill and had gone to a sanitarium. But I was warmly received by his sister, Madeleine, who allowed me to explore the house, sit at the desk where *Jean Christophe* was written, examine books, manuscripts, and pictures; and she talked with me about her brother's work. In 1938, when I was next in Switzerland, Rolland had returned to France. So I never met him!

But I corresponded with him for years, and his letters are among my treasures. The first letter came in answer to my cry of acclaim over his great essay, *Above the Battle*. The war of 1914 had smitten me with astonishment and confusion. I was convinced that Germany was no more responsible for this crime than Russia and France—that the invasion of Belgium was a welcome excuse given to Britain to enter a fight which she had done more than a little to provoke. I felt instinctively that the war was in essence an imperialistic war, fatal to all the higher values of civilized existence, that every true soul must seek to preserve these values as the primary challenge of the hour, that war was irreconcilable with religion, and that whoever would be faithful to the latter must oppose the former. But who was I to think these things? How could I be right, and everybody else wrong? For, aside from a few inconspicuous persons like myself, a war-crazed world was all against me. Overwhelmed by distrust and dismay, I was in a fair way to have perished spiritually—when from across the seas came the call of Rolland to his cultural compatriots in all lands to rise "above the battle" which was destroying mankind, and give themselves to the service of those higher interests of mind and soul which made and should keep them one. This call was like a trumpet sounding in the night. I wrote to Rolland, to pledge my utter allegiance to his cause—and in due course came a letter from him to me.

This was the beginning of a correspondence which went on, at longer or shorter intervals, for years. Rolland wrote in eloquent and frequently difficult French, and I wrote in English. Each could read the language of the other, but neither could find in an alien tongue the easy and natural vehicle of thought. As Rolland's books appeared, I would receive autographed copies from his hand. I have a bound copy of *Cherambault* which I particularly value, for this novel is unquestionably the noblest as well as the most carefully wrought statement of his pacifism in wartime.

The essence of Rolland's teaching is found in the closing paragraph of *Above the Battle*, set down in the early days of the first World War amid the multiplying disasters of French arms:

"For the finer spirits of (the world) there are two dwelling places: our earthly fatherland, and that other the City of God. Of the one we are the guests, of the other the builders. To the one let us give our lives and our faithful hearts; but neither family, friend, nor fatherland has power over the spirit.

"The spirit is the light. It is our duty to lift it above tempests, and thrust aside the clouds which threaten to obscure it—to build higher and stronger, dominating the injustice and hatred of nations, the walls of that City wherein the souls of the whole world may assemble."

Ordinarily there is no conflict between these two "dwelling places." In time of peace, one may love and serve one's country with a single devotion, and through one's country "that other the City of God." It is as easy as living at once in New York State and the United States, or in Normandy and France, with no sense of discord or even difference. But in time of war there comes instantly separation. Force and violence rend the two "dwelling places" apart, as an earthquake splits the earth. There is no sense in trying to bridge this awful gulf. There it is—to be seen if one has the vision, and faced if one has the courage. Like a fixed star stands the fact that to take up arms and fight for one's "earthly fatherland," which means to kill one's fellow men, to destroy the work of their hands, to spread hate, lust, and fear in human hearts, is to fight against that spiritual "fatherland" which is humanity and God. After all, there is only "one body," as Paul discovered centuries ago; and the hand cannot say to the foot "I have no need of you," and least of all "I will destroy you." When that fatal word is spoken, it is spoken not against any member, but against the body—and it is the body that must be saved!

It is the greatness of Romain Rolland that, in the supreme crisis of 1914, when all the world snatched up arms in mutual destruction, he did not avoid or evade this issue. As between his beloved France and "the City of God," though at the cost of a broken heart and exile, he chose the City of God for his first loyalty. This meant not only *not* supporting the war in his country's defense, but setting his face like flint against this war. It meant crossing the frontiers even of enemy countries, and joining hands there with heroic spirits who would "build higher and stronger, dominating the injustice and hatred of nations, the walls of that City wherein the souls of the whole world may assemble." He found few, either at home or abroad, to follow him. But there were a few, scattered here and there through the world—"forerunners," he called them—and these he rallied and sustained, and therewith created that "little lay church which today, more than any other, preserves its faith in the unity of human thought and believes that all men are the sons of the same Father."

Some day, when these wars are over, and the new dark ages have passed, and another Renaissance has come upon this stricken earth, it will be seen that, even as the medieval church kept burning the light of mind and heart that later kindled the flame of a new civilization and a new culture, so Rolland's "church" kept alive into the future, out of the welter of an all but universal destruction, the new glory of a great new age.

* Died on December 30th last—J. H. H.

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The Good Chap

By VERA BRITTAIN*

THE NIGHT HAD BEEN ALMOST QUIET. In the village the haphazard shots of snipers had died away, and the crump of heavy shells now echoed from a distance. Even the smouldering fires were almost extinguished, and the bricks had stopped falling with tiny reverberating crashes inside the gutted walls of the ruined houses.

In the still intact kitchen of the village store, Jean and Marie sat down silently beside the coffee-pot. Then, as on the past two mornings, Marie put into words the question which tormented them both.

"Is Captain Bauermann still out there?"

"Yes," replied Jean. But he intercepted her when she stood up to go to the window. "Do not look, Marie. It is now three days since they shot him. His uniform is sodden, and his face has turned black."

Obediently Marie sat down, but her voice did not suggest obedience.

"It's not right," she said angrily. "They ought to bury him. He is a Catholic. They should not leave him lying out there in the rain."

And down her lined cheek ran an unchecked tear for the fallen enemy who had shared their breakfast table every morning for four years. She remembered how he had helped Jean with the daily accounts, complicated by the orders and purchases of the Nazi troops. In summer he had brought in the lettuces from the garden; in autumn he had joined with them in gathering the apples. She knew by heart the photographs of his family at Gelsengirchen; his smiling, tired-faced mother; his father who helped to man the guns at Cologne; his brother serving on the Russian front; his sister married to a history professor at Heidelberg, and the youngest, his favorite, little Gerda, with her short skirts and long fair plaits. Every Christmas, for four years, the Captain had shared his gifts from home with Jean and Marie; and for the past two years his mother had sent Marie a special Christmas card, thanking her for the care given to her son. It was not really so surprising that Marie had joined in the Captain's anxiety for his mother and sister when the British and Americans kept on bombing the Ruhr. . . .

"Last night," Jean remarked after a pause, "I saw the British Chaplain who landed with the paratroops. He is billeted at the convent. If I wait outside tonight at the same time, it may be that I can speak to him."

That evening, when the Chaplain left the convent for the officers' mess at the chateau, he saw a small elderly figure step into his path, and felt an apologetic hand laid on his sleeve.

"A thousand pardons, Monsieur. May I speak with you for one little moment?"

The Chaplain stopped. "Certainly, my friend. What can I do for you?"

Jean hesitated, seeking through his small stock of English phrases for appropriate words.

"Monsieur," he said at last, "my wife and I, we are not *collaborateurs*. We love our country, and we did not like the Nazi invaders. We know also that there are many dead, and the conqueror has much to do. But . . ."

The Chaplain waited while he paused again. The long evening shadows, slanting from the walls of the shattered houses across the street, seemed to draw the two of them into a private corner.

"It is Captain Bauermann," Jean continued with an effort. "For four years he lived at our home. He gave us no trouble. He was kind to us in many small ways. Three days ago, when the invasion arrived here, he went into the street with his gun, and there he was shot by a paratrooper who came to liberate the village. I know, Monsieur, that it is right for a Nazi to die. . . . But he was a good chap, and my wife, she does not like to see him lie out there in the rain."

"Where is he lying?" the Chaplain inquired slowly.

"He is fallen in the gutter, thirty yards from my store. It is the only store at the other end of the village. Already his face cannot be recognized, and his uniform is heavy with water. But he was a good chap. . . ."

"I understand, my friend. Tomorrow morning, before your wife comes down, we will find him a resting place."

* * * * *

That is why, in the cemetery of a continental village, a homemade cross of white chrysanthemums is laid upon a German grave.

* Author of the current novel, *Account Rendered*, also *Humiliation with Honor* and *Massacre by Bombing*.

The Christian Faith, the Church, and War

By NELS F. S. FERRE*

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO WAR ought to be determined by the nature of the Christian faith. What this is has been revealed in Christ. This revelation has three main aspects: incarnation, atonement, and resurrection.

The *incarnation* is the fact that God himself has fully entered history in Christ and there disclosed his nature and will. Revelation is thus ultimate and cannot except ignorantly and illogically appeal to any standard beside itself. All philosophical and historical categories are derivative and secondary. The incarnation also repudiates all historical relativisms which deny the availability of absolute authority and standards.

The *atonement* defines most adequately the meaning of the incarnation. The God who is love became flesh in his Word to effect through the cross the eternal fellowship which is his historic purpose in Christ Jesus. The eternal *that* of the incarnation is described by the historic *what* of the atonement.

The *ressurection* declared that Christ is victor over the law, sin, and death. On God's part these have been conquered, though not concludedly, yet conclusively. God waits for man to avail himself in all areas of life of the fruits of this victory. Though human history is but part of the total drama, the resurrection applies to this history.

The Christian Church is the extension of the incarnation, atonement, and resurrection. God is still in history through Christ as the Holy Spirit by means of the Church. Through Christ the Holy Spirit creates a fellowship of forgiveness and redemptive concern. This fellowship reveals the continuous victory of the resurrection by the power of its faith, its witness, and its spiritual fruits. This fellowship is the eternal purpose of God, the end of history, and the purpose for all creation. It is a supernational community, grounded in the supernatural order, and as indivisible as the Holy Spirit.

Purpose of the Created Order

This revelation also discloses the nature and purpose of the created order. History and nature are God's means of creating fellowship whereby he indirectly conditions and controls the destiny of man without directly determining it. The conditioning factors through which God controls man without determining him are needs: physical, social, and spiritual. By means of these, both negatively and positively, by both judgment and reward, God has set limits to man's free ways and in goodness leads him to repent of his limiting self-seeking and to accept the delivering fellowship for which he has been made. Yet man's freedom is real in order that his fellowship might be real, and as such is rebellious, perverted, misguided. Actually the order of creation is characterized by a sinful refusal of fellowship, by perversions of fellowship, and by partial, unsatisfactory fellowships. Yet in the long past, this order of creation is God's indirect conditioning and control of man's responsible freedom, leading him to seek a better fellowship beyond the contradictions he experiences within the order of need, law, sin, judgment, and death.

Because the Church evolves an institution in history it participates in both the orders of redemption and creation. Yet the Church is an act of the Holy Spirit. He is the ground of its being, function, and unity. The true Church of God is no more besmirched by the evils of the order of creation than is the Holy Spirit itself. The Church is the reality of the fellowship of forgiveness and of the fruits of the Spirit. All members of the Church are likewise members of the order of creation but their primary membership is in the Church and all their prayers and efforts must be directed primarily to the end that their lives exhibit the true Christian fellowship.

The order of creation is to be received with thanksgiving and to be used for the common welfare and the glory of God. Our attitude toward it should be faith, gratitude, obedience, and responsibility to God. The highest standard for its use is God's revelation in Christ as a responsible, self-giving other-concern creative of a rich and free fellowship. The whole material and historic realm is a means to the realization of this fellowship and a medium for its expression. Yet since this realm is misguided, perverted, and sinful the highest standards of the Christian revelation are seldom directly applicable to it. This is especially true of the state, which is the most inclusive unit of full organizational development yet to appear in history. But on the other hand, even though the absolute standards of revelation are seldom directly applicable to the state, those citizens who are also true members of the Church cannot remain satisfied to act on the level of general social attitudes and political enactments. They seek, therefore, the point where the revelational standards can most relevantly and vitally transform the *status quo*.

Christian Duty to Church and State

The state, at least in our stage of history, has a divine function and responsibility to God. It is now a necessary order of creation. All church members have therefore also a duty, as citizens, to the state, and, as children of God, for the state. But while their duty to the state is limited by its nature and function, their duty to God is absolute. Their duty to God as church members includes their duty to the state. God is the prime authority of both the order of redemption and creation. Their duty to the state can therefore never be inconsistent with their duty to God. Their duty to the state ceases where it conflicts with their primary duty to the Christian fellowship. From there on the sons are free.

At that point their relation to the state is taken over by their responsibility to God *for* the state. In actual history the rational application of the Christian standard to the *status quo* to obtain relevant, world-transforming courses of concrete action is often impossible. The action of the state may be such that to participate in it the Christian is forced to act not only on the usual level of the *status quo* but far below it. At such instances constructive co-operation between the redemptive and the created order is barred

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by the action of the latter. Here the Christian's duty to the state ceases, for to act on the order of the state is to deny the command of God, and the Christian must henceforth make himself primarily responsible for the state to restore it to constructive order and effort. War is such an instance where the Christian's duty is to the Church rather than to country.

Duty of Church in Peace and War

The nature and function of the Church to be a redemptive community inseparably uniting men in self-giving concern and that of war which openly divides men by selfish conflict are nearly completely contradictory. No man can serve two masters so opposed to each other as Christ and Mars. Constructive force on the order of creation for the common welfare is consistent with the pedagogical responsibility of the Christian Church and roots back into the very nature of the created order. The destructive selfish violence of war is inconsistent with the nature and task of the Church. In war, therefore, the duty of church members to the state ceases and their duty to God to restore the state to constructive order becomes dominant.

When there is no war, the Church must labor to effect such conditions as will make war unnecessary. It is responsible for creating both the attitudes and the social patterns that will make for true peace within and without a country. The Church is ordered by God to be a peacemaker. This task the Church has generally failed to accomplish effectively because the institution and spirit of the pseudo-Church which is nearly coextensive with the order of creation has obscured its light and often dampened its spirit. A primary task of the true Church is to become disentangled in body from the pseudo-Church of nominal Christianity.

When war is being waged, the Church must first of all witness to the purpose of God in Christ Jesus by being radically itself. The Church must be the universal, supranational fellowship which refuses to participate in selfish violence. It cannot do otherwise and yet remain Christian. The witness of the Church must naturally be in both word and deed, for verbal testimony without appropriate action is both faithlessness and self-refuting. Faith and life are inseparably bound together. Christians can never love universally as church members and yet fight with each other as citizens. The Church not only testifies to the incarnation, the atonement, and the resurrection, but the Holy Spirit actually demonstrates the power and validity of the gospel.

Concrete Tasks of the Church

The Church must also judge the world both by its message and its stand. Being itself a fellowship of forgiveness, under both judgment and justification, the Church witnesses not to itself but to the Judge through whom she is justified. The Church judges the world by being its light and salt, and this is the judgment, that men prefer darkness rather than light. The Church cannot carry out judgment on the level of creation. That is the prerogative of God. If she so judges she is herself judged by her very judgment. God has ordained certain laws of need on the level of creation whereby he judges men, lets them judge each other, lets the dead bury their dead, and sets limits to their capacity for destruction in order to maintain the function of the order of creation, namely to combine the freedom and reality of man's fellowship with the control of his destiny. The Church's judgment is ever constructive, the witness in faith and life to the true fellowship of God's purpose.

The Church must also be a peacemaker in action. When the levels of redemption and creation have fallen apart the first task is to repair them. Nations must be induced to become on speaking terms with one another. The most satisfactory solutions on the level of creation are by means of negotiation. Pride and stubbornness, abetted by rationalizations, make all nations seek total victory. Victories result in harsh conditions imposed on the conquered, not in the solution of problems. The Church must, therefore, act as a reconciler, pointing out continually the faults and evils on both sides as well as the good causes on both sides, trying to deliver all nations from the rationalization that they alone can be trusted, and upholding the vision of the constructive good which results from co-operation. Above all, the Church must proclaim the responsibility of all states to God for each other as well as for themselves. The duty of the state under God is to maintain constructive order within and without. Christ is present in both the redemptive and the created order, as both Redeemer and King, and men must own this fact. The Church must consequently work to prevent and destroy hate, to engender the compassions of common concern, and to reconcile people with people as well as person with person.

Another concrete task of the Church during the war is that of healing. This is a task of body, mind, and spirit. There are agencies, both under and outside church auspices, which reach out to all lands to help in numberless ways those who are suffering—physically, mentally, and spiritually. The true members of the healing Church will give without return as much as and more than those who support a divisive and destructive cause. They will labor to make clear and strong people's understanding of war, of its causes, and of the God who stands beckoningly beyond the war, who lets men punish themselves through war; and even of the peacemaking Church in order to deliver them from their sins and lead them in better ways.

And the Church will preach, teach, and administer God's healing to lonely and anguished souls. Within the sanctuary the clamor of war cannot reach without defiling it. In God's house there is room only for repentance, judgment, forgiveness, and reconciliation concerning the *sins* of war—the sins of omission and of unwilling or unwitting participation which have *caused* war. Prayers ascend for all peoples, for enemy and ally, and the healing of that peace not of this world takes hold of all ready hearts.

Military Chaplaincy Not a Church Function

Under military auspices the chaplaincy is not a function of the true Church. Ministers of Christ naturally long to minister to all men everywhere. But to be shepherds they must go in by the door. The stand of the Church against war must not be compromised by evil alliances, even though much true compassion is responsible for such alliances. If the Church with a clear stand on the whole issue of war were allowed to have men who are not part of the military machine go in to minister to the men in such areas as might be possible, ministers of Christ should be anxious to do what they could. But as things are today, the fullest possible non-participation is the strongest witness of the Church against war as a whole. The prevalent confusion

with regard to the chaplaincy results from the lukewarmness of an institutional Christianity which has been nearly coextensive with the order of creation. The best motto at this point is "Let the dead bury their dead." The Church that refuses to be Christian and lacks convictions about the condemnation of war has neither light nor power for a social order where the order of creation is increasingly lighted and led by the order of redemption. Its truest responsibility for the state is exercised by calling the state back from its self-destruction and destruction of others.

Areas of Conflict

In areas of unclear conflict between the demands of the state and the Church, such as the paying of taxes or obeying special regulations, the simplest rule to follow is that the Christian citizen obey such laws by the state as affect the common welfare during a peculiar situation, but that he refrain from voluntarily aiding in any way the waging of war; if compelled to act directly against other peoples he must naturally refuse and be willing to suffer for the kingdom of God. No Christian is the lord and controller of all history, and therefore all participate indirectly continually in situations contrary to their deepest purpose. All that God requires of his children is that they witness and work to the best of their capacity for the coming of his kingdom on both the redemptive and the created levels.

Conformity to Christ does involve non-conformity to certain perverted areas of the order of creation. Such non-conformity is possible and effective. Even though true church members are more conscious of sin and the need of forgiveness than all others, this consciousness and the fact that they participate also indirectly in a sinful order must never make them deny the presence of the Holy Spirit in history whereby it breaks all social relativisms and incarnates the gospel. To measure its effectiveness in history in terms of immediate political power is to substitute a national totalitarian perspective, and an inadequate one at that, for a Christian perspective and a realistic interpretation of history. Even though the leaven has not leavened the whole lump, it is still leaven; and by becoming more potent it can in God's time leaven the lump. The Church, even in wartime, can influence opinion and action even though she is powerless to guide them generally; and insofar as she affirms her true being as Christian, she will gain power and influence among the confused and distraught people. Those who think in terms of the best immediate action on the level of creation often forget the dimension of time, and sacrifice the purity and fullness of the gospel with its long-range power for the sake of a dubious temporary expedient. And after the war the world stands skeptical of a prostituted Church!

Challenge to the True Church

The true Church of Christ, the extension of the incarnation, atonement, and resurrection, and the incarnation of the Holy Spirit, cannot ever be at war. Christ and Mars are two irreconcilable masters. Nor can the members of the Church be at war. Christian citizens have real duties to the state, but their first duty is to Christ. When they cannot serve both God and country, their first duty is to God and their duty to the state ceases. Yet they are responsible for the state and must proclaim to it the full gospel of redemption and judgment, of reconciliation and healing, by both word and deed.

The Church is world-wide and could creatively empower and guide the whole order of creation if the Church were truly the Church. We have failed the order of creation by remaining too much on its level in thought and action, doubting the power and love of God and not becoming increasingly baptized by the Holy Spirit to the bearing of rich spiritual fruits. We need true repentance and reformation. That could help the world by providing a steady light and a constant source of power.

But even if the Church's being Christian should fail to affect desirably the order of creation, leading instead to her suffering and disdain, the issues of history are in God's hands and all we are bid is to be faithful.

What Lies Ahead?

By A. J. MUSTE

IT IS harder to foretell the weather for the next two weeks than to predict that in April we shall have some mild weather in New York. In like manner, although one cannot predict our immediate post-war future, it is possible to say with some assurance that one of two contrasting general patterns of life will be worked out and adopted in the United States in the next quarter century. I want to attempt to outline both of them and to suggest some conclusions which are pertinent to conduct at the present time.

I

Either of two patterns will be pretty well established twenty-five years from now. If the first, I believe we shall see the following:

1. A Fascist dictatorship. Of course it will not be called that. Very likely it will go by the name of "national democracy" and the party which dominates it will be called The Party of the American Way—PAW.

2. The economic system will be under the control of the government in alliance with the heads of the big corporate industries. This economy will be geared for war. Already Wilson, of General Electric, has stated openly at a meeting of the Army Ordnance Association that we can no longer talk of a peace economy and a war economy. There is just war economy; that's all. Concentration of control we already have. Three-tenths of one per cent of all corpora-

tions get about seventy per cent of corporate net income. One of the immediate tests whether we shall move up this road is the disposition of war plants built by federal money. These represent over 20 per cent of all capital invested in U. S. manufacturing, and fully 25 per cent of productive capacity. Plans in effect, or under serious consideration, envisage turning them over cheaply to private interests which will probably scrap them or their own old plants, in order to maintain a scarcity economy.

3. The organized labor and farmer movements will be smashed or kept under tight government control as in Germany or Russia.

4. Our foreign policy will be a combination of isolationism and neo-imperialism. Essentially it is in this direction that Dumbarton Oaks looks—not toward genuine international organization but big-power expansionism. In pursuance of this policy we shall be putting down independence movements in Latin America: we are already on good terms with the dictators there who are friendly to the United States. And we shall be joining with Britain, Holland, and France in crushing independence movements in the Orient. More or less directly we are getting practice now in Greece and Belgium.

5. The nation will be militarized. The proposal for peacetime conscription is one of the danger signals already raised. So is the proposal to keep our Navy at full strength. It is now about as strong as all the other navies in the world combined.

6. There will be increasing resort to violence in our internal life, both on the part of groups which suffer under adverse economic and social conditions, and in the form of secret police and other governmental agencies of repression.

7. The pattern of racial discrimination and segregation will be set and we shall undoubtedly develop our own racist doctrine of "white supremacy" to "justify" it. Both external and internal forces will drive in this direction. It we make the Pacific an "American lake" and suppress independence movements in Asia, we shall feel under compulsion to work out a suitable rationalization. At home, reactionary and demagogic elements will make scapegoats of minority groups, and the disinherited among the majority will seek to assuage their own misery by persecuting and hating the minorities.

8. In twenty-five years, if we go up the road I have been describing, we shall be involved in World War III.

II

Another pattern which might conceivably develop in the next quarter century would bring us the following:

1. A democracy in which the will of the people will be honestly sought, expressed, and carried out, with no restrictions on racial and other grounds, and with complete civil liberty and religious freedom.

2. An economic system under various forms of social ownership and control but not state collectivism.

3. The movements of workers and farmers strengthened and taking a much larger share in economic and political life.

4. The United States will be part of an international organization based on mutual aid and not on force, helping to raise the standard of living in backward lands and encouraging the independence of their peoples.

5. Abandonment of militarism and of reliance on our armed might. (Joining now in an international convention for the universal abolition of conscription would be a step up this road.)

6. Abandonment of violence and increasing resort to nonviolent methods of social change. Democracy cannot survive on any other basis.

7. Complete abandonment of the white or American supremacy doctrine, and the acceptance of complete equality and brotherhood among all races.

8. Peace instead of World War III.

III

What seems to me most important for all men and women of good will to realize is that each of these two situations I have sketched represents an integrated pattern. We cannot approach things on an *a la carte* basis, selecting the items we think we like from each pattern. If we order some of the elements in the first pattern we shall have to swallow the whole. If we want some items in the second group we must make up our minds honestly to seek them all.

For example, many well-meaning respectable people, members of churches, etc., want a prosperous, peaceful, and orderly United States; they don't want poverty, secret police, violent revolution, and they earnestly hope the United States will not get into another war. Down South such persons are usually Democrats; in the North, Republicans. But many of them don't really trust the democratic process—don't want Negroes to vote. They want "business as usual." They do not want more democracy in industry. They do want the United States to keep a big army and navy and they think universal military training wouldn't be such a bad thing. In other words, they want what such people wanted in 1929. It resulted in economic disaster and World War. The result would be the same again.

To take another illustration, organized labor leaders want real changes in the economic system, a strengthened labor movement, and many have a good attitude on racial relations. But they believe that for purposes of "defense" the United States ought to keep a big military establishment and naval and air bases in various parts of the world. They do not really believe that war can be outlawed. They do not want labor conscription, but many of them think military conscription might be a good thing—or that in any case it is unavoidable. It was such attitudes on the part of organized labor that resulted in the lack of mass opposition to the policies that brought on World War II. The same seed would presently produce the same kind of harvest.

There are likewise certain pacifists who want to see war abolished, but they have little or no concern about change in the economic order, are not interested in supporting labor's right to organize, and are inclined to be complacent or inactive about present race patterns. But if these characteristics persist in American life, we shall have economic crisis, another dictatorship, war, and conscription. Again, if we cannot help our fellow-men to develop nonviolent means to overcome the injustices from which they suffer, we can hardly expect to be taken seriously when we tell them the world can get along without war.

Daily these groups, and others we might name, are making decisions, acting. And it is the way we act, not the aims we profess, which will determine where we arrive and what general pattern American life will assume.

We Oppose This Push for

HERE IS A SAMPLING OF THE STRONG OPPOSITION TO PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

John Dewey
Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Columbia University

There could not be a worse time to form and pass an act providing for post-war universal service than while a war is still in process and emotions are stirred at the expense of judgment. It gives the lie to professions of hope for a peaceful and reasonably cooperative post-war world. Whom are we getting ready to fight? Since it cannot be the foes whom we are going to defeat thoroughly, it must be some of our present allies. I know of no move better calculated to arouse suspicion of us on the part of other nations. It can be easily employed to project us on a career of imperialistic policy.

Harry Emerson Fosdick
Minister, Riverside Church, New York, N. Y.

The movement now afoot to fasten on the United States within these next few months a permanent system of peacetime conscription, which would draft all American youths for a year of military training, seems to me profoundly unwise and dangerous.

The proposal thus to institute in the United States a system of universal peacetime conscription for military training is one of the most radical departures from the principles and procedures of our American democracy that has been suggested in my lifetime. It is not a light matter as some of its advocates are publicly representing it to be, and it cannot be camouflaged as merely providing a year of educational opportunity for our youths. It means that we in America adopt one factor in the kind of military system we are now fighting against, setting up as a permanent peacetime policy the military conscription of every American youth. The consequences of that are bound to be far-reaching, and they seem to me to lead straight in the direction of the militarized regimented state.

My major concern at this present moment, however, is not so much with the proposal itself as with the determination to decide the matter now before the war is ended. I am shocked at the reasons publicly expressed for this haste. *The New York Times* quotes one Congressman as saying, "Congress will not wait until the war is over to act, because the members fear an attitude similar to the anti-militaristic public reaction of 1920." Another Congressman is quoted in the *Times* as saying, "The people are in a mood now to maintain an adequate military force after the war, but that mood may change when the shooting is over." That is to say, these gentlemen want to rush this measure through in haste under the stress of wartime emotion, because they think that the American people will not stand for it if given time calmly to consider it in view of the conditions we shall face after the war. That surely is a cynical flouting of democratic principle and procedure that in the end the people are bound to resent.

This question thrown at the nation now is going to be one of the most controversial the country ever faced. Our major religious bodies, and increasing numbers of our educational leaders, are deeply aroused against it. It will split the nation into two camps at the very time when national unity is needed most.

Jay B. Nash
Chairman, Dept. of Physical Education & Health, N. Y. U.

If any compulsory military training is necessary, the idea must stand squarely on its own feet. Its objectives must be clearly stated in terms of protection of the nation. Our people will want to know how much time is absolutely necessary for basic training and what specific objectives and outcomes are sought. If a clear, concise statement of objectives is made, the nation will be inclined, I am sure, to accept the advice of military and other governmental leaders.

I vigorously object, however, to having the advocates of military training hide behind the banners of physical fitness, training for citizenship and discipline.

No one is going to be fit at nineteen who has neglected his fitness up to eighteen. The long years of childhood and early adolescence are crucial years. Organic power must be built over the long years from six to eighteen. Also, a person fit at eighteen may be completely unfit at twenty-five. We have ample proof that fitness does not automatically continue through the years. Therefore, from the standpoint of physical fitness, something more than a year's service is essential. No plan of physical fitness can be made effective which does not include the co-operation of parents, teachers, doctors and the individual himself.

Military discipline is not the discipline of democracy. Freedom is an outcome of obeying self-imposed laws. The type of discipline we want is not acquired under mass instructional conditions or through impersonal teacher-pupil contact. The home, the school, and the church have responsibilities far beyond those of the federal government.

Again, citizenship is not solely built in military barracks. There must be opportunities for an individual to serve his nation with satisfaction. This requires service in an area which the individual thinks is significant. There are real opportunities for citizenship. There is work in our national forests where millions of trees should be planted. Thousands of acres should be wrested from the grip of erosion. The Japanese beetle and the elm tree blight must be fought. These are just a few examples of public work.

Do we want the federal government to direct all these efforts? Has the history of other nations given us confidence that this is the task of a centralized government? Do we even want to experiment with the beginnings of a nationalized youth movement?

The answer is "No." Desirable outcomes in fitness, discipline, and citizenship should be forthcoming, but they ought to be fostered by our local communities. Many community agencies should be given an opportunity to experiment. The Quakers and others have already organized

Peacetime Conscription!

AS VOICED BY LEADING EDUCATORS AND CLERGYMEN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

effective work-experience camps which combine citizenship, discipline, and fitness-training.

William H. Kilpatrick
Emeritus Professor of Education, Teachers Col., Columbia

As to a permanent policy of military conscription, the main if not the sole question is whether the world situation really demands it.

So far, I, for one, am far from being convinced that we need such a step. The real hope of preventing war lies mainly in a just and strong world organization to enforce peace. The strength of such an organization will reside first and mainly in the moral determination of its member states to make it work and, second, in its ability to act quickly if the need should arise. For neither do we need the proposed universal military conscription.

To the contrary, there is real ground for fearing that for us at this stage to adopt a permanent policy of universal conscription will make both the world and ourselves believe that we mistrust any world organization and that we intend instead to be ready with this conscription as a more reliable alternative. Such a belief would weaken the organization both here and abroad before it is founded and might very well encourage our isolationists to work the harder to make us again go it alone.

Aside from the question of military need, the other proffered arguments are but so much piffle. As for health, we can manage that better and cheaper otherwise. As for discipline, the kind of discipline that American life and democratic citizenship require, that comes not this way. A year in army barracks, under military discipline and away from any personal interest and oversight, is about the worst possible program for desirable moral and citizenship training.

So far, and certainly at this time, I am myself strongly opposed to the proposed measure.

Thomas J. Durell
Assistant Commissioner of Education for New Jersey

This statement is my personal point of view and does not necessarily represent the attitude of the New Jersey State Department of Education, which has not yet taken a group stand on peacetime compulsory military training.

In our schools one of our major objectives is to help children, as they mature, become more self-reliant and more capable of social self-control. This form of self-discipline is the democratic kind of discipline by which people can govern themselves without autocratic control. It makes them self-propelling, able to think for themselves and act for themselves as they go through life.

A major purpose of military training, on the contrary, is to instil blind obedience, instead of reasoning obedience, to group control. To force boys to submit themselves to autocratic control of this sort just as they are arriving at maturity would, I feel sure, largely undo the personal initiative and group responsibility which we have tried to develop. Moreover, many schools would feel that they should prepare children for the experience they would have to undergo at the close of their public school life. Preparation for military training would cast a shadow over the earlier years of our boys in order to make them submissive material. Conscription is good training for the dictator way of life, but not for democratic living.

Reinhold Niebuhr
Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Sem.

While I am not willing to join in a statement which assumes that conscription is *per se* undemocratic, I am opposed to action on peacetime conscription now.

Robert Maynard Hutchins
President, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

It seems to me that this type of training . . . [peacetime universal military training] is open to the usual criticism that can be made of any system of mass vocational training —namely, that by the time the student comes to use what he has been taught, technological change has produced a situation in which he cannot use it. The art of warfare is changing so rapidly that I should think that it could be argued that a young man trained at the age of eighteen would be a positive handicap to the Army at the age of twenty-eight. . . .

Why should we not, as the most powerful nation in the world . . . go to the peace conference and urge the abolition of universal military training throughout the world?

Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops
Through the National Catholic Welfare Conference

The Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference opposes the *immediate* passage of a bill (either the Gurney-Wadsworth or May bills—H. R. 1806—H. R. 2947) looking towards compulsory military training of all the male youth of the United States on the grounds that: (a) this problem should not be settled until after the end of the war and we know what the international situation will be; (b) that those now serving in the Army and Navy should be given an opportunity to express their views on this measure before it is enacted; (c) that military requirements until the end of the war can be met by the extension of the Selective Service Act.

N. C. McPherson
President, Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia

Peacetime universal military training is not necessary for the defense of America and it has proved to be of little value in preventing wars. Many of the nations of Europe and Asia have had universal military training for years, yet the compulsory military training of generations in Germany

and France and Russia did not prevent these nations from becoming involved in World War I. Neither did it ensure victory to their armies. The history of France since 1918 demonstrates the same fact: compulsory military training does not prevent war and is not an adequate defense against possible enemies.

Charles A. Ellwood

Emeritus Professor of Sociology, Duke University

No free society or free democratic government has ever long existed in recorded human history with universal compulsory military training. Universal military training has been the basis of every totalitarian government which the world has known—from Sparta to Germany. Germany used to boast that it has no strictly civilian population. But where is Germany today? When a people turn themselves into an armed camp, what is the use of talking about freedom of thought and conscience as basic in political life? If we fasten universal military training upon this country, we will have fought the war in vain.

Edwin McNeill Poteat

President, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester

To those conscripted at least two likely consequences can be foreseen. At the most fruitful educational period they will be subject to disciplines associated basically with war. To face life under war disciplines is to distort much of the idealism which is the impetus of individual and social growth. Again, the forcible interruption of one's normal civilian training schedule is certain, in many cases, to induce a sense of frustration that can be dangerous to all subsequent plans. Students know too much of what conscription has done to youth in other countries and other decades to be sanguine about its educational values here.

To those who for any reason would be exempt from such a period of training two reactions may follow. Paradoxically some would feel superior while others would feel the exact opposite. One of the first group, because of the feeling of freedom for unbroken college pursuits, may develop hateful arrogance; one of the latter, because of his sense of inferiority, may develop an equally hateful servility. Young people should not be required by the government to face such possible consequences to their souls. Normal life will inevitably provide enough of that sort of testing in any case and under the best of circumstances.

Edgar Bruce Wesley

Professor of Education, University of Minnesota

Compulsory military training in time of peace is a handicap to education and citizenship. Compulsion is the antithesis of learning; it is bankrupt pedagogy superimposed upon bankrupt citizenship. As a military policy it has doubtful validity. Even if it were valid, being prepared for peace is more important in the long run than being prepared for war. As a public policy it substitutes compulsion, authority, and caste for discussion, consent, and equality. Let us not sell our ideals and our allies short. We may yet win the peace. Then we shall see this issue in better perspective.

Vinal H. Tibbetts

Director, American Education Fellowship, New York

I am opposed to any attempt to impose peacetime military conscription on the youth of our land at this time for the following reasons:

The need for it has not been demonstrated. The program and its cost has not been submitted to the American people for democratic discussion.

The Selective Service System is properly meeting our present needs.

Peacetime conscription for military service violates every ethic of our Christian-democratic heritage.

There is grave doubt that peacetime conscription as envisaged by its proponents will accomplish any real military objectives. Witness the conscript armies of France and other European countries.

There is danger in this proposal of establishing a military caste which is abhorrent to most Americans and foreign to our way of life.

The extravagant claims of the proponents as to the educational, health, disciplinary, and other non-military values to be derived is, to say the least, open to serious question.

Why all the hurry? Let us reason together with opportunity for full and frank debate and only after our 11,000,000 citizens now in the Army can be heard.

Goodwin Watson

Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.

Universal military service in peacetime would be likely to have unfortunate effects on the personality of youngsters. The main reason is that it is unlikely that after this war most people in the United States will anticipate a serious military threat. Hence the young people will be asked to give a year of their time for an enterprise not strongly supported by public opinion. The morale will be reminiscent of that in 1941 when, even despite the growing threat of Hitler, there was a lot of talk of "over the hill in October."

Another problem arises from the authoritative and paternalistic organization of military camps. Far from making boys into men, the direction of impact is likely to be quite the reverse. Young men who ought to be assuming initiative and making decisions on their own responsibility find themselves in army life with most of their physical needs provided for and no obligation except to do as they are told.

Paul Scherer

Pastor, Holy Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, N. Y.

I am definitely and unalterably opposed to the plans which are being pushed through so hastily for the peacetime conscription of our youth. Such action at such a time could not possibly be representative of the best mind of the nation. That young Americans should be regimented and conditioned to the psychology of the military, albeit in the name of defense, constitutes an utter perversion of our American ideals and a complacent adoption of the ideals of those against whom we have so bitterly fought. To substitute for the vital and necessary strategy of education for character and spiritual stature this short-cut to what is regarded in some quarters as efficiency is suicidal and must inevitably result in the loss of those essential freedoms that undergird our national existence.

LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT THE FACTS ABOUT

Military Training and National Health

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

THE more one examines the causes of poor health in a large proportion of the population of the United States, the clearer it becomes that one year of compulsory military training will not solve, or even begin to solve, the problem.

That the problem is serious no one can doubt who considers the statistics given out by the Government on its rejection of more than four million young Americans as physically unfit for military service. This is about 43 per cent of our young manhood in the draft age years of 18 to 37. Of the eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys examined by Selective Service, one quarter were found unfit for military duty, according to Col. Leonard G. Rowntree, chief of the Medical Division of Selective Service.

Contrary to the belief that farm people are healthier than city dwellers, Selective Service figures show a higher rejection rate in rural than in urban areas. The figures also show a higher rejection rate among Negroes than among whites. Among 18- and 19-year-olds the rate of rejection for white men is about 23 per cent and for Negroes about 45 per cent. But part of the reason for the large percentage of Negro rejection is educational deficiency so that physical unfitness is not the sole cause of the above contrast.

Coming now to the chief causes of physical rejection under the draft, they appear to grow out of (1) malnutrition, and (2) inadequate medical and hospital care.

General Hershey, speaking at the National Nutrition Conference in May, 1941, reported that one-third of all rejections to date had been found due directly or indirectly to nutritional deficiencies. This observation of the General is borne out by other statistics such as those revealed in the statement issued in 1941 by the Department of Agriculture which indicates that some ten million children were on deficient diets; or the Gallup Poll which said that half of the Americans interviewed said they would like more to eat.

The National Resources Planning Board's study revealed that there are in the United States 4,178,284 families with incomes of $312, or less, annually, and that there are 7,500,000 families whose income averages $440 a year. The Board suggests that a minimum income for a family should be $1500 and then points out that over 19 million families or 63.7 per cent of all American families earn less than this per year.

Colonel Rowntree of Selective Service is a witness for the need of improved hospital and medical service. Testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in July 1944, he explained that in states with relatively high income and good medical facilities rejection rates were low. On the other hand rejection rates were highest in the Southeastern states which have the lowest income standards and the poorest medical facilities. Defective eyesight is the major cause of rejection among 18- and 19-year-olds. Other causes are mental, musculo-skeletal and cardio-vascular troubles. Among older registrants defective teeth account for a large proportion of rejections. Surgeon General Ross A. McIntire, testifying before the same committee, added that many defects could easily have been corrected if the victims had had the means and attended to them in time.

The National Resources Planning Board in its study indicates that families earning less than $500 a year spent only $22 a year for medical care; $10 for a doctor and $10 for medicine, mainly patent medicine, and $2 for a dentist. Almost nothing was spent for recreation and very little for education, clothing and household equipment necessary for the good health of the individual.

Another cause of physical deficiency, not revealed by draft rejections but showing up in the stress of warfare, is lack, for some sections of our population, of properly directed physical games and culture during boyhood and adolescent growth. Colonel Theodore Banks, chief of the athletic and recreation branch of the War Department, said on April 2, 1944, "There are lots of lives being lost in the army because of the accumulation of fatigue and the lack of endurance and strength. Agility cannot be developed in the short training the army gives. It must be developed during the boy's formative years in school."

Finally, any program designed for full national health must embrace the womanhood of the nation. It must include pre-natal and maternity care for all mothers who are willing to receive it. Following that, some form of health service with a national coverage should provide instruction and demonstration in the care of babies and young children. To improve the nation's human stock is obviously more important than to improve our breed of pigs, cattle, and grasses—excellent services which the Department of Agriculture ably performs.

Here then are some of the causes of physical unfitness in millions of our fellow countrymen. Obviously the remedy for these defects does not lie in a year of Army or Navy training at the age of 18. That would hardly be better than a quack medicine for serious bodily ailment.

In fact, figures from the Army, Navy, and U. S. Public Health Service show that mental and nervous disorders and venereal diseases are much more common in the armed forces than among our civilian population, even in peacetime. An average of figures for 3 years picked at random show the incidence of venereal disease as 25 times as high in the Navy as among civilians; and the number of mental and nervous disease cases hospitalized as nearly 3½ times as high in the Army as among civilians.

Hanson Baldwin, the leading writer on military affairs for the *New York Times,* disposed of the fiction that a year of military training is a health panacea when he said: "Selective service which does not have jurisdiction over the youth until he is 18 years old does relatively little about improving fundamentally the nation's health. . . . Any real program for improving the health and mental well-being of the nation, it is clear, must begin at an early age in the home and in the grade school."

OUR GOVERNMENT CAN HARDLY CLAIM TO HAVE SOLVED THE CO PROBLEM, WITH ONE-THIRD OF OUR

Conscientious Objectors in Prison

By ERNEST LEFEVER*

IN A PERIOD OF TOTAL WAR hundreds of thousands of men throughout the world find themselves in war prison camps, in concentration camps, and in the regular civilian prisons. We hear much about the prisoners of war, the sad victims of concentration camps in Europe, and the detention of nationals in India, but little is known about our own prisoners of conscience in the United States. Despite the provision of the Selective Service Act for non-military civilian public service for conscientious objectors to war, more than 4,872[1] persons claiming to be religious or conscientious objectors (3,488 of whom are members of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect) have been sentenced to prison for violation of the Act since the first registration day, October 16, 1940.

Every sixth person in federal prisons on June 30, 1944, was a conscientious objector, according to figures of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. On that date COs constituted 3,224 of the 18,392 federal convicts—more than 17 per cent —and this proportion is increasing. Jehovah's Witnesses, who make up 70 per cent of the COs in prison, really deserve a classification of their own, but they are included here because of their conscientious *civil disobedience* with respect to the Selective Service Act. The total number of COs who have been sentenced for violation of the Act (including two who were only fined and 163 who were granted probationary status) is more than 4,872. In comparing this number with the 7,800 conscientious objectors in CPS as of December 1, 1944, we see that about one-third of America's conscientious objectors were led by conscience to break the law. In the face of this fact, one cannot become too enthusiastic about our "solution" of the CO problem in the present war.

The following table shows the number of conscientious objectors sentenced to prison:

Period	*Number Sentenced*
Oct. 16, 1940—June 30, 1942	386
July 1, 1942—June 30, 1943	1,685
July 1, 1943—June 30, 1944	2,292
July 1, 1944—Dec. 15, 1944	509
	4,872

In England, in spite of the constant air attacks and robot bombing, there is a higher proportion of conscientious objectors than in the United States. Owing to a more liberal policy on the part of the British government, a much smaller percentage of its objectors have been sent to prison; only 302 were known to be in prison at the end of March, 1943. Ninety-two young women who refused to be drafted for war jobs were given prison terms. The sentences in Britain are considerably lighter than here, usually running from three months to a year. At the beginning of 1944 sentences in this country averaged three and one-half years. In England the absolutist objector who convinces the civilian tribunal of his sincerity is granted *complete exemption* from military service and from any civilian alternative service. The only restriction is that the authorities must approve the work he chooses to do. Such a policy in the United States would greatly reduce the number of COs in our prisons.

A Comparison With World War I

Already in this war there have been more than ten times as many COs imprisoned as there were in World War I, although the increase in the number of objectors (to all forms of military service, including non-combatant) has increased slightly over threefold. Thus the proportion of COs (including Jehovah's Witnesses) sentenced in this war is over 300 per cent higher than in the last. In 1917-18 approximately one objector out of nine was sent to prison by court-martial. Today one CO out of every three has been imprisoned. Of the 450 convicted in the last war, 17 were sentenced to death, 142 received life terms, and the remaining sentences ranged from 99 years to less than one year. No death sentence was actually carried out, and on November 23, 1920, the last of the imprisoned COs were released. This was a little over two years after the signing of the armistice and fifteen months after all British objectors had been freed.

It should be kept in mind that 70 per cent of today's objectors are Jehovah's Witnesses. This makes comparison with World War I difficult, but as nearly as I can determine, the International Bible Students (former name for Jehovah's Witnesses) then constituted *only seven per cent* of the COs imprisoned. The actual number of COs imprisoned in 1917-18, exclusive of Jehovah's Witnesses, was 417. We can properly compare this total with the 1,384 men (exclusive of the JWs) sentenced thus far in this war. This presents a more accurate picture of the situation, because many of the Witnesses are really not pacifists, or even conscientious objectors to war, in the commonly accepted sense of that term.

In addition to the 3,488 Jehovah's Witnesses sentenced in this war, there were some 150 Moslems who, it is reported, would have nothing to do with this "Christian war." An overwhelming majority of the men are religious objectors, although a very small minority are classified by the Bureau of Prisons as "philosophical, political, and rational objectors." Here is a breakdown of one sampling of COs in prison from recognized religious groups not including Jehovah's Witnesses:

* FOR Field Secretary for Connecticut Valley, and a student at Yale Divinity School.

[1] This figure is as of December 15, 1944, and was secured from the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Methodists	54	Baptists	20
Roman Catholics...	46	Episcopalians	14
Friends	41	Jews	14
Mennonites	22	Brethren	4
Presbyterians	20		

This lists only a sampling, but it is sufficient to give accurate proportions. It is enlightening to compare this table with one prepared by Prof. J. G. Evert[2] for the last war:

Mennonites	138	Pentecostals	13
International Bible Students...	27	Seventh Day Adventists	11
Brethren	24	Molokans	6
Church of God.....	17	House of David....	4
Church of Christ...	17	Independent Christians	80

Apparently the absolute position represented by sectarian groups in World War I has been taken over by many members of established denominations in this war.

How They Went to Prison

The COs who have been sent to prison for violating the Selective Service Act have been motivated by various reasons. Here we will not deal with their inner convictions, but with the place at which these convictions lead to civil disobedience. About 70 per cent of all COs sentenced are Jehovah's Witnesses, a large majority of whom would accept no other classification than 4-D, the exemption granted ministers of religion.

Nine per cent of the men expressed their refusal to co-operate with the law by failing to report for their physical examinations. Twenty-eight per cent who did register refused to accept assignment to CPS. Three per cent walked out of CPS because they could no longer accept conscription or because of conditions such as insufficient work of human importance, denial of civil rights, lack of pay for service rendered, or the failure to provide truly civilian control.

Life Behind Bars

Conscientious objectors have been sent to all four types of federal prisons: (1) penitentiaries—walled institutions for older or habitual criminals—such as that at Lewisburg, Pa.; (2) correctional institutions—for younger or first offenders, usually not walled—such as that at Ashland, Ky.; (3) reformatories—generally for youthful offenders and surrounded by wire fences—such as the one at Petersburg, Va.; (4) prison camps—for men not expected to attempt escape—such as that at Mill Point, W. Va. The judge in each case specifies the type of institution to which the criminal shall be sent, and the Department of Justice assigns him to a particular prison. Most COs have been sent to "medium custody" correctional institutions.

The prison community presents the newcomer with an entirely different world, pregnant with numerous problems as well as with opportunities for education and for service. Within the highly authoritarian pattern, provision is made for work, recreation, education, and religious expression. During the initial period of "quarantine," which lasts about thirty days, the prisoner is asked to surrender most of his personal belongings, is fingerprinted, is given a number, is taught prison discipline, and has interviews with the social worker, the chaplain, the psychiatrist, and so on, so that he may be classified for employment and housing quarters.

An important part of the schedule is the work which every able man is required to do under close supervision by guards. In some instances the men consider the work requirement a punitive measure. Refusal to work is considered a grave offense, punishable by being sent to the "hole," a solitary cell with a solid door so that it may be darkened. In a number of cases COs have refused to do war work; in most such cases prison authorities attempt to give men work that will not violate their consciences.

A recreational program and religious services constitute essential elements of the prison program. Opportunity for creative recreation is limited, but both indoor and outdoor activities—sports, quiet games, handicrafts, and movies—are sponsored. Weekly religious services are conducted. The larger institutions have a Jewish, a Catholic, and a Protestant chaplain; others are not as fully staffed. Progress has been made in providing a more adequate chaplaincy in the past eight years. The nomination of Protestant chaplains to Federal prisons is in every instance made by the Federal Council of Churches' Commission on Prison Chaplains. Standards of training are high. Prisoners are permitted to hold their own religious services. Quaker meetings, prayer groups, and FOR cells are conducted in a number of institutions. The Jehovah's Witnesses have their own meetings.

Intra-Mural Education

An opportunity for education within the walls is provided through the library, through classes taught by inmates, and through correspondence courses from the "outside." Because of their high educational level, the COs (exclusive of Jehovah's Witnesses) have become leaders in the program of instruction. In Lewisburg a CO was granted permission to introduce the Laubach method of teaching illiterates and to start a course on consumer education. He stated that among the eleven inmate teachers, five were COs. In Ashland, where the Cos (exclusive of Jehovah's Witnesses) constitute ten per cent of the inmate population, responsibility for the educational program has been placed largely in their hands; and in the spring-summer number of *The Barometer,* their prison paper, practically all the articles and cartoons were produced by COs. Considerable pacifist and anti-war writing is included. Here COs also wrote, directed, and performed an *interracial* operetta. In this prison there were at the same time four former staff members of the FOR!

Problems That COs Face

It is commonly assumed that men in prison are cut off from the opportunity to render useful service to society. This is far from the truth. The prison system itself is one of the crucial tension areas of our society, and COs have unceasingly addressed themselves to the problems of their walled communities. In addition to their interest in improving the basic structure of the entire penal system, the three most common problems faced are: (1) mistreatment and brutality by attendants; (2) racial discrimination; (3) strict censorship of mail and literature.

[2] Cited in *Is Conscience A Crime?*, Norman Thomas, 1927, p. 48.

1. There is little open physical violence in federal prisons, but there is enough mistreatment and brutality to bear investigation and correction. Stanley Murphy and Louis Taylor in their untiring efforts have brought to light ample evidence of cruelty at the Springfield, Mo., Medical Prison.

2. Racial discrimination practiced in most institutions, both north and south, has been constantly challenged by COs. At Petersburg some COs refused to attend church or to take part in sports because of racial segregation. A recent letter from an NSBRO prison visitor states: "Racial discrimination is a matter of great concern in almost every prison. In numerous cases men have been placed in segregation because of their stand on it."

3. Censorship of personal mail, periodicals, and books is practiced in all federal prisons. In practically all institutions each inmate is allowed only seven correspondents; letters are censored both ways. Although the avowed purpose of this practice is to prevent plots for escape and the like, in actual practice it sometimes amounts to the arbitrary censorship of religious, political, social, or medical ideas. As a result of CO protests, Director James V. Bennett, of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, issued an order calling for *inspection* of mail rather than *censorship;* to date this has not been fully implemented.

In attempting to rid the prison system of these and other evils, at least eight major non-violent strikes have been launched by the COs. They have taken two forms: refusal to work and refusal to eat until the condition in question received some genuine consideration by the authorities. The most notable of all was the Murphy-Taylor hunger strike at Danbury, Conn., which lasted 82 days. These men were transferred to Springfield where they were subjected to beatings and confined in "strip cells," cells stripped of all furnishings and equipment, and with only a hole in the floor. All in all, these non-violent demonstrations have effected certain definite improvements and have served to awaken the people "outside" to the great need for reforming our penal system.

With their efforts to correct recognized evils and their active participation in the educational, religious, and recreational life of the prison community, the COs have made a bit more tolerable the life of all prisoners. Through personal contacts with COs a number of inmates have been led into a deepened religious experience and a new pattern of values. A parolee recently said that in two years the COs had changed the whole atmosphere of Ashland for the better. Another man in the same institution said that it has been the most stimulating experience of his life.

It Does Something To You

Any inmate, CO or otherwise, cannot be subjected to the impact of a prison experience without being changed. The sentence may serve to harden or embitter him, or in some rare instances, to refine his spirit, as in the cases of the apostle Paul, George Fox, and Eugene V. Debs. One prison parolee of this war states: "Except in war, there is probably no human institution which inflicts suffering as prison does upon the average inmate. The CO has his faith or convictions to sustain him; most other prisoners have nothing."

It is to be expected that the prison system is the most authoritarian system in a democracy. The concomitant evils of this custodial hierarchy are pointed out in a recent poll conducted by George Houser among twenty-eight COs who had served time. The evils of the prison system are listed in the order of the frequency with which they were mentioned: 1. Retribution rather than rehabilitation; 2. Authoritarianism; 3. Capriciousness and arbitrariness of officials; 4. Failure to grasp the human equation (considering the person a number rather than a human being); 5. Censorship; 6. Racial segregation; 7. Discriminatory practices and favoritism; 8. Disciplinary practices; 9. Poor food and medical care; 10. Sexual segregation and perversion; 11. Poorly selected prison personnel.

Substantial, well lighted, and sanitary prison plants mean little when one must live all one's waking hours in the dehumanizing atmosphere of suspicion, distrust, fear, anxiety, deceit, bitterness, and regimentation.

Paroles for COs

Under the Selective Service Act the maximum sentence is five years; many judges automatically give this to all COs. Forty-two months was the average term at the beginning of 1944. There are three ways for a CO to shorten his sentence: 1. Conditional release, granted for good behavior, which may reduce the time by as much as 72 days a year; 2. Regular parole, for which one may apply after serving one-third of the term; 3. Executive Order 8641, which provides for release after 60 days to the army as 1-A, to the army as 1-A-O, to CPS, or to special employment. Release under this Order to CPS occurs on an average seven months after the sentence and to special service 13 months after the sentence. Between April 1943, and November 1, 1944, 189 COs were granted regular parole—51.6 per cent of those who applied for it. But only 20.6 per cent of Jehovah's Witnesses were given regular parole. The rate of release is difficult to calculate, but COs seem to be entering prison about twice as fast as they are leaving. Approximately 75 COs have received second sentences, and at least one got a third.

The Fable of Rehabilitation

Despite the Bureau of Prisons' stated policy of *rehabilitation,* the sources consulted for this article without exception emphasize the fact that released prisoners are less able to make a contribution to society than they were before being subjected to this "rehabilitating" experience. One respected prison official refers to the process as *negative rehabilitation.* After visiting Lewisburg, James Mullen wrote: "They (the COs) were of one accord in believing that such an institution can seldom be helpful in actually rehabilitating men."

Richard Gregg has pointed out that this problem of rehabilitation will not be solved until we recognize "that cruel punishment is not only ineffective but is injurious to prison wardens and to society as well as the criminal." In looking toward a solution he suggests that the criminal courts "should have no power of punishment. Thereafter the case should be handled by physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, teachers, and employment agencies. The object should be not to make good prisoners but to make criminals into good citizens."[3] Perhaps COs who have served terms could initiate a genuine movement in America for basic prison reform.

[3] *The Power of Non-Violence,* Richard B. Gregg, 1944, pp. 138-9.

American Colleges Association Against Peacetime Conscription

Some 500 educators representing every section of the country devoted nearly a whole day to the consideration of peacetime conscription proposals and went on record as decidedly opposed to any such measures. The occasion was the annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges, and the vote of 210 to 35 against compulsory military training was all the more significant because the educators had just listened to an hour's "off the record" talk by General George C. Marshall on the importance of such legislation. But, as one college official pointed out, Marshall's discussion "was limited to the military aspects of the problem" and "was based on the broad assumption that war is inevitable." The educator went on to say, "I do not agree with that premise."

Some of the arguments included in the resolution passed by the Association are so significant that we print extracts from them here:

"It seems clear that the increasing mechanization of war will make inventiveness, technological efficiency, and economic power more important than military training as conceived by present-day military authorities. Machine power will be more important than man power, and trained minds may be more important than trained bodies. Mere numbers may be far less important than the specialized abilities which colleges, universities, and institutes of technology are fitted to produce.

"We believe that universal compulsory military training at any time can be justified only on grounds of national defense.

"(a) As a health program it is inadequate and the sacrifices demanded are out of proportion to its benefits.

"(b) As an educational program it contains menacing possibilities; indoctrination, its traditional method of wholesale teaching, conditions its trainees to accept what is taught and not to ask questions, and might readily become a dangerous political weapon with us as has been true in other countries.

"(c) The proposal that military training be used as an agency for developing discipline and moral qualities is based on the unjustifiable assumption that the home and educational and religious institutions have largely failed in their responsibilities and are inadequate to the demands of the future.

"We believe it would be unfortunate to make an issue at the present time of the question of compulsory military training in time of peace. Such an issue will be raised if either of the bills which have been introduced in Congress (Gurney-Wadsworth Bill—HR 1806 or May Bill—HR 3947) is recommended by the Senate and House Committees for adoption.

"We urge the indefinite postponement of voting on these or any similar bills for the following reasons:

"(a) The provisions of these bills are not related to any of the problems involved in carrying on the war to a successful end.

"(b) It is impossible to determine at this time what an adequate program of national defense will require after peace has been restored—the purpose of any military program should be to make effective the foreign policy of the nation. Important sections of the foreign policy we are likely to follow in the years immediately ahead are still undetermined. No one knows at this time what will be the nature of the peace nor what our commitments and responsibilities will be under its provisions.

"The adoption now by the United States of a program of peacetime military training would imply a lack of trust in the effectiveness of the plans now being formulated to prevent aggression by international co-operation, and would inevitably lead to the conviction on the part of other nations that we already regard these efforts as doomed to failure. Other nations, especially those of Central and South America, following our example, would undoubtedly adopt similar programs of universal military training; we would be lending our influence as a nation to strengthen rather than weaken world confidence in militarism."

Important Church Gathering Adopts Message on Peace

Thirty-four communions, 18 allied bodies and 70 city and state councils of churches sent 481 delegates to the *National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace* which met in Cleveland, January 16-19, 1945. A. J. Muste, Nevin Sayre and more than 60 FOR members were present. The Conference issued a 6000-word message to the churches of the nation and a brief letter to Christians in enemy lands and all lands.

In appraising the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, a subject which attracted both the greatest interest and divergence of opinion, the Conference on the last day united in adopting the following statement: *"We recommend that the Churches support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as an important step in the direction of world co-operation, but because we do not approve of them in their entirety as they now stand, we urge the following measures for their improvement:—*

1. *Preamble* should reaffirm those long-range purposes of justice and human welfare which are set forth in the Atlantic Charter and which reflect the aspirations of peoples everywhere.

2. *Development of International Law:* The charter should clearly anticipate the operating of the organization under international law and make provision for the development and codification of international law.

3. *Voting Power:* A nation, while having the right to discuss its own case, should not be permitted to vote when its case is being judged in accordance with predetermined international law.

4. *Amendment:* In order to permit such changes in the charter of the organization as may from time to time become necessary, the provision for amendments should be liberalized so as not to require concurrence by *all* the permanent members of the Security Council.

5. *Colonial and Dependent Areas:* A special agency or commission should be established wherein the progress of colonial and dependent areas to autonomy, and the interim problems related thereto, will become an international responsibility.

6. *Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms:* A special Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms should be established in addition to the economic and social agencies proposed under the Economic and Social Council.

7. *Eventual Universal Membership:* The charter should clearly specify that all nations willing to accept the obligations of membership shall thereupon be made members of the organization.

8. *Limitation of Armaments:* More specific provision should be made promptly initiating the limitation on reduction of national armaments.

9. *Smaller Nations:* There should be provisions designed more clearly to protect and defend the smaller nations from possible subjection to the arbitrary power of the great.

Concerning the post-war treatment of Germany and Japan, the Message urged:

"The settlement should make possible the ultimate reconciliation of victors and vanquished. That implies that it should remove the power as well as the will of aggressive elements within Germany to make war. However, the necessary discipline of Germany because of the crimes committed in her name should not be vindictive. The partition of Germany into separate states should not be imposed upon the German people. The treatment of Germany should be calculated to strengthen the liberal forces within that country committed to international co-operation. . . ."

"As in the case of Germany, so with Japan, the power and will to make war must be removed. However, Japan's basic economic problems, aggravated by the war and by the expected loss of her empire, must be met by fair opportunities in productive industry and trade as pledged by the Atlantic Charter. Treatment of Japan by the United Nations should be favorable to constructive forces within Japanese society, and should aim to bring Japan at an early date into normal relations with the world community."

(*Continued on page 33*)

Service Act Gets Priority Over Peacetime Conscription

Pressure for adoption of some form of labor draft under the guise of a "national service act" took precedence over the campaign for post-war military training during the past month in Washington. Hearings on post-war conscription scheduled by the House Military Affairs Committee for early in January were postponed in order to consider national service legislation (labor draft) which the Army and Navy chiefs consider of first importance.

Roosevelt himself started the ball rolling, asking Congress especially for a law to make the best use of the four million 4Fs, many of whom are not in essential industries. Numerous laws have been proposed to implement his request. The May-Bailey Bill would assign men between 18 and 45 not in war jobs to special "service units" under military discipline, subject to assignment wherever needed, and without mustering-out pay or other benefits granted men in the regular armed forces. The Colmer Bill would put all deferred draft registrants automatically into a new branch of service called the Supply Forces in an inactive status but subject to call to active duty in industry at military pay wherever required.

Officials of the CIO and AFL voiced opposition to any such labor draft, pointing out that co-operation will get much better production results than compulsion, and that steps should be taken to correct discriminatory hiring practices which are keeping thousands of Negroes and Jews out of essential jobs. Considerable opposition also appeared to be developing among Republican Congressmen. Military men are not agreed among themselves on several features of the proposed legislation. Democratic leaders now openly admit that it may not be possible to gain sufficient support to pass work-or-fight legislation in this Congress.

Present concentration on national service, however, is giving opponents of peacetime conscription opportunity to muster their forces. And time is needed. A Midwest Congressman recently declared he was getting only a couple of letters a day opposing peacetime conscription and that if the proposed measure is to be defeated he should be getting at least 40 to 50 letters daily.

FOR Protests

The FOR Executive Committee, at its meeting on January 10, adopted the following statement in protest against conscription: "We oppose the various proposals in Congress which in one form or another provide for the conscription of women and of labor—such as proposals to conscript nurses, "work-or-fight" legislation for 4Fs and others, and the various so-called national service acts. Our action is based primarily on our opposition in principle to conscription for war purposes whether it applies to young or old, men or women. There is, however, special danger to our economic life, the labor unions, and the freedom of the person in the proposals to draft men or women to work for private employers or in labor battalions. The conscription of women likewise involves special threats to the home, the local community, and the church, institutions on the integrity of which the survival of the democratic way of life largely depends. The more firmly conscription is fastened upon our people and in the various realms of national life during the war, the more likely it becomes that conscription will be made a permanent feature of American life.

"In view of the great importance of these issues, we protest in particular against any effort on the part of the chairmen of the various Committees which have to do with them to hurry any bills relating to them through Committees or through Congress."

The Executive Committee at the same time recommended that active support be given to the Senate Resolution submitted by Senator Wheeler calling for a statement of peace aims including:

(1) The adoption of a universal Bill of Rights; (2) the assured survival and extension of democratic principles; (3) the immediate creation of a United Nations political council; (4) free plebiscites under international supervision in all liberated countries; (5) the immediate creation of a United Nations economic and social council; and (6) the creation of a general federation of European nations at the earliest possible date, within which disarmament and economic unification will be combined with sovereign equality and cultural self-determination, with a view to assuring the security of all nations, large or small, victor or vanquished.

CPS Men Ask to Serve Humanity

There is a strong movement on foot among CPS men for a chance really to serve mankind, touched off by the sentencing of Dr. Don De Vault to jail for insisting that as a trained chemist he had more important things to do for humanity than building duck ponds. Signatures of COs are being collected for a petition to President Roosevelt, asking him to use his discretionary powers to make possible work for COs in which they can use their aptitudes and training in work of their own choosing and which would minister to pressing needs.

The petition points out that there is nothing in the Selective Service Act which makes this impossible, and that the correction of this abuse is an administrative responsibility. The three important provisions which are asked for are: a general program of individual assignment, on the basis of individual aptitudes, to work in society in the service of the country and mankind; designation of regional civilian tribunals to determine and regulate such individual assignment on the basis of conscience; removal of the present punitive prohibition of wages for conscientious objectors.

Any COs who wish to add their names to this petition should write to Henry Dyer, 1734 F Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Puerto Rico FOR Conference Held

The first Puerto Rican Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation met in San Juan and Rio Piedras on December 8 and 9, with more than 40 in attendance.

Speakers at the opening session were Dr. Walter Clyde, professor at the Union Theological Seminary, on "A Critical Look at the Pacifist Movement"; Mr. Rufus King, director of the Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit (CPS No. 43), on "The Impact of Pacifism on a World at War"; and Mr. Herman Will, director of the Castaner Project of the Brumbaugh Unit, on "An Evaluation of the Pacifist Position Today."

Next day three subjects received discussion: The FOR and Permanent Conscription, led by Fred Kidder; Puerto Rico and FOR Policy, led by Mrs. Stanley Harbison; and an FOR Program for Latin America, led by Dr. H. J. Williams.

The discussion of the FOR's policy in regard to Puerto Rico resulted in the following recommendations:

1) That one or more of the national secretaries should be sent to Puerto Rico to secure at first hand an understanding of Puerto Rico and its problems, and the relation of the FOR to them.

2) That the National Council of the FOR continually consult with the Puerto Rico group in regard to national FOR policy involving Puerto Rico.

3) That present FOR policy toward Puerto Rico should: (a) Seek to develop in the continental United States an appreciation and understanding of Puerto Rico, its people and its problems, by an unbiased presentation of all sides of their political, social, economic, and religious problems. (b) Deal with issues of the area and avoid tying the FOR and its policy to personalities and organizations. (c) Press for a statement of policy by the United States Congress toward Puerto Rico and its future which will recognize and respect the results of political self-determination for Puerto Rico.

Liberated Normandy Starved and Ruined

A report has recently been released by Helga Holbek, a Quaker field worker in Normandy, reflecting widespread destitution, food shortages, and the threat of disease in the first sizable cities and small villages in France to be liberated from the Germans. According to the report, there has been considerable confusion among the people between "post-war" and "post-liberation" aid. The relief that they felt when many men returned from the underground and were not remobilized has given way to disillusionment over the lack of food, shelter, and even minor comforts.

Miss Holbek reported widespread devastation resulting from the fighting that followed the invasion, leaving towns in ruins, fields churned up or sown with mines, ruined harvests, villages and farms wiped out and populations scattered. The remaining local officials in the region estimated that, in all the towns, from 20 to 90 per cent of the houses had been destroyed and virtually all the others had been damaged, particularly their roofs. . . . "There are altogether hundreds of bombed-out people. They possess only what they were carrying on the summer's day when they had to fly.

"In the whole of this region, fields, sides of the roads, houses, and even ruins are mined. There are thus almost every day accidents which are often fatal. Most of the harvest is ruined for this reason.

"To save the potatoes, the method has been adopted of taking the oldest horse in the village and making it draw a roller about eight or ten yards off. The driver follows about another nine yards behind. If the horse is not blown up, as the roller would touch off a mine, the potatoes can be gathered."

New Staff Members

Two new members were added to the national office staff in January. Herbert Hancox, former chairman of the Chicago FOR and treasurer of the Midwest FOR, began his work as Associate Secretary in charge of membership and finance. For a number of years he was head of the Chicago YMCA College.

Virginia Hunt, who has been teaching for the past three years in Santiago, Chile, and in Buenos Aires, recently returned to this country and has accepted a temporary position as an editorial assistant in the literature department.

Hitler Youth Curable?

In the September 18, 1944, issue of *The New Republic* a German anti-Nazi, Heinrich Frankel, writing on the question "Is Hitler Youth Curable?" concludes: "The fundamental point has been summed up quite briefly by a young German teacher who interrupted a discussion on such technical problems as that of entirely new sets of textbooks for the Germans, to say: 'Never mind the textbooks, the first job will be to teach those youngsters how to love!' This is it. Love of one's parents and friends, love of nature, love of music, love of a good book, all the elementary decencies of ordinary everyday life, will have to be instilled or rekindled in those youngsters first. Love is one of the two faculties Hitler has deliberately destroyed in his Nazis, the other being the urge and ability to think independently, to ponder and argue rather than to listen and obey. This second faculty will have to be rekindled too."

French FOR Meeting

The FOR in Paris has been holding meetings every month with an average attendance of 25 to 30 people, according to a card received from Henri Roser via England and dated October 26. He reports that his family, Helene Schott, Premsyl Pitter, Olga Fiertz, Jacques Harts, the Verniers, and Andre Trocme are all right, though the latter recently lost his son in an accident, and Jacques Martin "was spared two hours before he was to have been shot."

Cleveland Conference

(*Continued from page 31*)

With regard to both Germany and Japan, the Conference urged, "the time is at hand when the governments of the Allied nations should make a more explicit statement as to the status of their peoples following the war. We believe such a statement is needed in order to satisfy Christian concern and to prevent needless sacrifice of life upon the battlefield."

Condemnation of racism and imperialism was clear and explicit:

"We cannot in good conscience advocate the dismantling of the Japanese empire—the creation of a non-white race—without at the same time insisting that the imperialism of the white man shall be brought to the speediest possible end. We cannot have a sound or stable world community so long as there is enforced submission of one people to the will of another whether in Korea, in India, in the Congo, in Puerto Rico, or anywhere else."

The Conference Message was full of excellent recommendations on race relations, domestic economic problems, human rights, and church unity. Limitations of space forbid their inclusion here. Measured against the bellicose attitude of church bodies in the First World War, the Cleveland Conference registered an amazing advance. Whether it will be enough to stem the incentives to World War III is a more problematical matter.

The complete text of the Conference Message may be had from the FOR office or from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y., for 10 cents postage paid.

Jottings

Recognizing that "pistol-toting" has long been one of the causes of crimes and violence, the Mexican authorities are initiating a vigorous drive against illegal carrying of revolvers. Until now it has been difficult to enforce the "depistolization" statutes, but measures are being taken now to confiscate illegal weapons and round up violators.

* * *

The General Council of the United Church in Canada recently instructed the Board of Publications of its Church Publishing House, which operates the largest printing plant in Canada, to sign a collective bargaining agreement with its employees, as represented by the various printing trades unions. This action probably places the United Church of Canada in the forefront of churches all over the world in dealing with the question of the unionization of church employees.

* * *

A small junior college is trying to find instructors who are competent either in shop work, industrial arts, farming, or dietary work. A woman, a man, or a couple would be welcomed—perhaps a CO, the wife of a man in CPS, or a refugee couple. Anyone interested should write FELLOWSHIP, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, New York.

* * *

A Race Relations Sunday service, on February 11 at 4 p. m. at Riverside Church, is being sponsored by the New York Interracial Fellowship, Riverside Church, the Greater New York Federation of Churches, and the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches. Dr. Henry C. McDowell, of New Haven, will preach, and other participants in the service will be Dr. Homer Loh, Rev. Florencio Saez, Rev. Toru Matsumoto and Rev. Norris L. Tibbetts. The choirs of St. Mark's Methodist Church, the Interracial Fellowship, and Riverside Church will sing. All ministers in New York City are invited to participate in the processional and recessional.

DO YOU WANT
to work in New York?

The National office of the FOR now has openings for:

- **2 Secretaries with rapid, accurate stenographic and typing ability.**
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If interested, write Irene L. Ford, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Plight of the Soul

In This Our Day. By Edith Lovejoy Pierce. Harper and Brothers. 72 pages. $1.50.

Appreciatively commenting on Mrs. Pierce's poems (which many of us have noted in magazines for years before the appearance of this first volume) the *Christian Century* uses the phrase "—poems which *reflect the plight of the soul* today."

Indeed they do. These pages express the shock, the outrage, the spiritual frustration now being widely felt by young and old, and all the more because we have so shallowly accepted this war, with its threat, by way of conscription, of making war perpetual. There is around these poems also the steely environment of city life, intensified by the enormous arbitrary powers of government. Seldom does a trace of country nature or reference to democracy enter them. They are eloquent by their omissions, and convey the awareness of lost liberties and joys. The first poem is well named "Nothing I Now Can Do."

The book is in four parts, "My Hand Is Writing," "The Ever-Fixed Mark," "The Darkling Plain," and "On Earth As It Is In Heaven." Titles and poems indicate the poet's progress from general despair, first through personal joy with its spiritual and social irradiations, then through the darkening of that joy, whose radiance, however, persists in twilight. The last quarter of the book (which contains a spray of Christmas poems) expresses a thoughtful winter confidence in redemption, and is aware of the family likeness to heaven of our small, troubled, potentially so kind and happy Earth.

"Portrait of a Friend" and "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Wartime" seem to me the finest whole poems in this small volume. But to give a taste of the quality of this collection I shall quote the still more significant closing lines of "Pentecost," and part of "Civitas Dei," in the last division of the book, presumably the final (to date) upward spiral of her experience and thought.

This is an inner wind. When all is calm,
And doors are shut lest anguish press and shove,
Sudden the rush, the tumult, the alarm,
The sweeps of life, the hurricane of love
That swells the heart and blows the mind to flame.
—Man knows not where it goes nor whence it came.

The river of life twists backward every street
That seeks to hold the feet
Of the star-wandering human race
That yet has found no final resting place
On earth.

I wish this volume had included "To the Warmakers," which appeared in the *Christian Century* in September. Its twelve lines contain the life-giving anger which may yet take hold of us all as we contemplate the global massacre of youth which modern war has become, and its tigerish demand for universal conscription, in season and out of season, forever.

To the Warmakers

Mow down the young. Trample them under your foot.
Their stalks are slim and tender, supple and green.
They will not clog the blades, they will not blunt the machine.
Weed out the young before they take firm root.

Let the young pay your debts, furnish your tolls.
With a synthetic glamor invest
Their sacrifice. They know not how to protest.
Murder their bodies. Desecrate their souls.

Let the black phoenix of evil rise on the young.
Theirs be the blunder, theirs the bloody task.
You will not be here when the future ages ask
"Where are the hands for building? Where are the songs unsung?"

That is an inspired phrase, "synthetic glamor." This might be an effective poem to recite at hearings on the May Bill for permanent conscription.

SARAH CLEGHORN.

Liberals' Hope Fading?

Politics, a magazine edited by Dwight Macdonald, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y. Subscription $2.50 per year, 25 cents per copy.

The January issue of this magazine contains matter of such importance for all who are interested in the philosophy of religious pacifism and an understanding of war and this war that I feel it a duty to bring it to the attention of the readers of FELLOWSHIP. There is these days no other nonpacifist publication that contains as much useful material for pacifists. Space restricts me to very brief comment on two articles.

One is by "Gallicus" and is entitled: "The Liberals' Indispensable Man: Hitler." Two rungs on the liberals' ladder of hope have collapsed, according to the author: one, that the war would solve the problems that created Hitler, and two, that "the war would at least solve the problems which Hitler created." Now the last rung is going: that without the war "he and his would have remained masters of the earth." Hitler, because of this notion, is the "indispensable man" of the liberals' war. But, the author continues, to suppose that the Nazis could have established a stable regime is to assume that the Nazis were effecting a true revolution which would meet human needs and solve society's economic problems—which is eyewash. It ignores the fact that even at the height of their power the Nazis were not able to secure acceptance of their rule, that their system was essentially nationalist and therefore could satisfy neither the progressives nor the nationalists in other lands and that *once the threat to German existence was removed,* it could not maintain its hold even on Germany.

The liberals' theory, furthermore, ignores the degeneration which has already begun in Nazi ranks. The French Maquis, the Vilna ghetto insurrectionists, etc., "all got their arms through graft, *by purchase from bribed German sources.*" It ignores the whole historic record of resistance to tyranny: is the Nazis' "the military machine that could have faced a wall of hatred outside of wartime? . . . when little Ireland was able to defy the power of the world's greatest Empire?"

Allied armies, the article charges and of course the newspapers daily furnish evidence, are now themselves actually waging war against the forces that have been resisting Hitler. And all that keeps the people in Allied countries from waking up to what is happening is "the war-tempered cult of the nation, requisite of oppressive regimes," which the pro-war liberals and radicals are supporting. "That supreme masterpiece of the lesser-evil theory, the idea of war-making as an alternative to successful Hitlerism, is the necessary cover for the plain truth about the war's social function." The ordinary man who believes in fighting for his country right or wrong doesn't need it. But liberals—and shall we say Christians?—"haunted by the memory of forbidden words like imperialism, militarism, merchants of death, can't recapture this innocent view of war. . . . They must maintain at every price that they are saving Europe from their indispensable man, Hitler. And that they are not doing Hitler's work for him, but a whole lot better, in the process."

The other article I want to mention is by D. S. Savage, English Christian pacifist poet, on *Socialism In Extremis.* It deals profoundly with relations between socialism, pacifism, Christianity. Savage's theology is in a sense Niebuhrian (anti-Utopian, anti-perfectionist) and he demonstrates that on this ground you have to be a pacifist! His concluding remark is that if the socialist objects that his [Savage's] position is unthinkable without a "totally outmoded belief in God and in man as made in the image of God—well, that is what I have been trying to say all the time."

There ought to be many subscribers to *Politics* and certainly many purchasers of the January issue.

A. J. M.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Non-violent, or Not?

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

With all due respect to Jay Holmes Smith's knowledge of India and his deep sympathy for the people of Puerto Rico, I am compelled to write that his article in the November FELLOWSHIP, "The Gandhi of Puerto Rico," is incorrect at several points and presents a badly distorted picture of the position which Pedro Albizu Campos holds in Puerto Rican life.

Not once in the fourteen months I have spent on the island have I heard Pedro Albizu Campos referred to as in any sense being the leader of a non-violent movement. When I have asked whether he could be considered an advocate of non-violence, every answer has been emphatically negative.

In an attempt to get as accurate information as possible on this particular subject, I have consulted at length with: (1) The Reverend Domingo Marrero, an ardent advocate of immediate independence, formerly a member of the executive board of the Nationalist Party, and now active in the Congress for Independence; (2) Mr. Hipolito Marcano, attorney for the Free Federation of Workers (Puerto Rican affiliate of the American Federation of Labor), a student at the University of Puerto Rico during the height of Albizu's career, and an advocate of eventual statehood for Puerto Rico; (3) Dr. Angel Mergal, professor at Union Theological Seminary, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, a careful student of Puerto Rican history, and an advocate of self-government as a part of the United States.

The following statements are based on these interviews and on the recorded facts of history.

1. The course of the Nationalist Party under the leadership of Albizu Campos was marked by frequent acts of violence. The record shows that:

In the fall of 1935, four Nationalists and one policeman were killed in an armed clash between Insular Police and a car of Nationalists on their way to break up an anti-nationalist student meeting.

On February 23, 1936, Col. E. Francis Riggs, head of the Insular Police, unarmed and on his way home from church, was assassinated by two Nationalists who in turn were shot to death at the Insular Police Station.

In June, 1936, an Insular Policeman was killed by a Nationalist.

In the fall of 1936 a Nationalist shot and wounded Santiago Iglesias, the Resident Commissioner to the United States Congress and father of the Puerto Rican labor movement and Socialist Party.

In the spring of 1937, a Nationalist stowaway attempted to set fire to the liner Coamo.

On June 8, 1937, the day after Albizu was sent to prison in the states, an attempt was made to assassinate Federal Judge Robert A. Cooper who had sentenced Albizu.

2. Through the Nationalist Party, Albizu Campos organized the Army of the Republic, together with its youth divisions, the Cadets of the Republic and the Nurses of the Republic. The members of the organization wore black shirts, white pants, engaged in group drill, and used a military salute.

3. Albizu Campos *voluntarily* stayed in a San Juan prison during the period of his appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, voluntarily in that federal prisoners have the right to choose to remain on the island during their appeal or to be sent to Atlanta to begin serving the sentence immediately.

4. A conflict of opinion existed within the Nationalist Party under the leadership of Albizu. A group which was deeply interested in Gandhi and his methods opposed the military aspects of party organization and sought vainly to turn the Nationalists in a non-violent direction. Most of this group eventually withdrew from membership in the party.

5. The Nationalist Party today is only a small part of the Congress for Independence and its leaders are not outstanding in the councils and activities of the Congress.

None of what I have written above detracts one iota from the injustice of Albizu's conviction and the brutality of the Palm Sunday Massacre in Ponce in 1937. These are black marks against the Winship Administration and the relations of the United States with Puerto Rico. Certainly a full pardon for those convicted of political "conspiracy" is the least that can be done now.

HERMAN WILL, JR.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

You will recall that the article criticized by Mr. Will was considerably condensed from my original manuscript. Much explanatory material was necessarily omitted, including my distinction between Albizu's policy of non-violence and what FOR members would accept as true pacifism.

But I stand by my summary statement in the article: "As I study the revolutionary situation in Puerto Rico under General Winship's tyranny, I am amazed at the very small number of retaliations by the Nationalists under sore provocation. I can attribute this only to their leader's training of his followers in resisting non-violently. Gandhi's score on a percentage basis is not as good."

Mr. Will cites only six incidents of violence in two years, and nobody acquainted with the realities of a revolutionary situation can fail to see that this is a very small number, regrettable as each case is. Moreover, Albizu cannot be held responsible for these acts of violence. I firmly believe they were committed without his knowledge or consent, and contrary to his repeated pleas to his followers.

The Arthur Garfield Hays Commission of the American Civil Liberties Union, composed of eminent Puerto Ricans, none of them Nationalists, reported as follows, after all but one of the incidents listed by Mr. Will had occurred:

"No witness was able to give the Commission a single instance in the last five years of Puerto Rican history where there had been any disorder or violence at any public demonstration, whether that demonstration was made by Nationalists alone, or by Nationalists joined in a so-called 'united front' with other groups, or at any parade or public assembly or any other group of citizens."

The report also says that acts of individual violence are few in number. But unfortunately the Party is judged by them. Compare the Viceroy's charges against Gandhi as to his responsibility for outbreaks of violence in India.

At the Ponce Massacre, as at other times, the cadets (like the Indian Congress Volunteers, with uniforms, drill, and salute) were absolutely unarmed.

The tremendous volume of petitions for Don Pedro's pardon from the highest Latin American bodies attests the esteem in which he is held throughout the continent. Gabriela Mistral, greatest Latin American woman poet, has called him the "foremost Spanish American."

However, only a small part of my article dealt with Albizu's practice of non-violence. The emphasis was upon the crimes of Yankee imperialism against the people of Puerto Rico, and upon our duty as Americans to make adequate atonement for them. If I have tempted anyone to reverse this emphasis I have done a disservice to a cause that should be an imperative to every socially conscious American.

JAY HOLMES SMITH.

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